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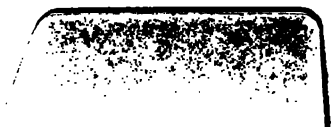

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A TREATYSE

OF

Magic Incantations.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

OF

CHRISTIANUS PAZIG.

(Circa 1700.)

Edited by
EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.,
F.S.A. (Scot.)

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Magic Incantations.

nature. And thus the Intellect, while pushing its curiosity beyond due bounds, and the Will, while itching to do a multitude of novelties, fall both of them into an abyss of errors, from which they cannot possibly emerge unless the torch of a holier light shines before them for their guidance.

§ II. AMONG the heathen nations a great many individuals, whose greatest ambition it was *to know much and to do much*, were carried away by these waves, and professed, therefore, a science of no vulgar stamp, but one which to appearance stood aloof from all the others. They were, above all things, solicitous to attain to a knowledge of the divine will, being of opinion that this knowledge was not incompatible with science of a more solid kind. But inasmuch as they wished to find out the Will of the Deity without the Deity himself, they fell into so many whirlpools of superstition that they tried to discover that Will from the screams of fowls, the entrails of brute beasts, and the flight of birds —all which indications, and many more besides, came to them under the name of divination.

These vain studies did not, however, find favour with all, for there were some who had recourse to other means for spreading their reputation among the vulgar. Hence they pried into the secret chambers of nature, and zealonsly investigated the

properties of herbs and metals and other natural substances. They also sometimes by their art and ingenuity supplied the defects of nature, and since the knowledge of these matters was strictly confined to the adepts, the untutored multitude regarded them with overpowering admiration and awe, accepted their utterances as if they were inspired oracles, and greeted them with a peculiar name, calling them Magi, and their art Magic.

§ III. BUT although we do not deny that most authors under the name of Divination have included Magic also, together with its different varieties, as we read has been done by Caspar Peucer,* yet still, since there is this leading distinction between the two—that the former consists in speculation and the latter mainly in practice, while, moreover, there are many sorts of Magic which have no connection with Divination—we have thereby been led to think that it would be worth while to separate the one from the other, and to distinguish between them with some precision.

§ IV. THE name, then, of *Magi*, has passed over to us from Persia, for the Persians call their sages Magi, just as the Greeks

* In the book which he has written Concerning the Principal Sorts of Devinations.

call such men philosophers, the Latins wise men, the Gauls druids and bards, the Egyptians prophets, the Indians gymnosophists and Brahmans, and the Assyrians Chaldæans. The name by which these men were designated was in the outset a most highly honourable one, since they were the men who conducted the worship of the gods, unfolded the secrets of the natural world, and observed also the motions of the heavenly bodies, from which they predicted the nature of the coming seasons and the destinies of men. They sometimes also studied medicine, as Mantuanus represents them.* "Among the Persians the Magian is one who is acquainted with the stars, who knows the powers of herbs and the worship of the gods." Philo does not scruple to call the real and natural art which these men professed "an optical science which scans the works of nature in their most marvellous manifestations."† But after they began in the course of time to be covetous of vainglory, and to parade their knowledge and to boast of a power whereby they sought, through the performance of certain sacred rites, to summon the spirits of the dead from the nether world, and to force these to reveal to them things of an abstruse and secret nature—nay, when they ostentatiously,

* Libr. I. *Fast. Carm. V.*, p. 19.
† Libr. *de Special. Legib.*, p. 611.

though untruthfully, boasted that by impious words and acts they knew everything and could do everything—then their name became infamous, and they were commonly regarded as impostors, who had secret dealings with the devil himself.* Apuleius, therefore, condemns Magic as an impure and bastard art, for he says:—†"Magic, so far as I hear, is a thing consigned to the laws for punishment, having been from of old interdicted by the Twelve Tables, on account of the incredible enticements of its profits; wherefore, also, it is not less secret than it is foul and horrible, being an art practised in the night-watches and thrust away into darkness, with no witnesses to see its abominations or hear its muttered spells."

§ V. BUT just as we often enough see gushing forth from a pure and crystal spring, streams that are polluted and empoisoned by the foulness of the channel in which they run, so also it very frequently happens that an art in itself most excellent attracts unto itself through the fault of its practitoners, much that is Vicious, and such, we know, has been the lot of Magic, which, when considered from this point of view, emerges into a two-fold art, the one commendable and

* See Barnab. Brissonius *de Regno Persarum*; also, Huetius *Demonstrat. Evangel., propos.* 4, c. 5.

† *In Apol.*, p. 493.

natural, of which however it is not our intention to treat at large, the other again disallowed and infamous, to which, besides other juggleries of the fondest superstition, such as are so often practised by the dexterous use of the hands and eyes, belong also Incantations commonly called Magical, to the consideration of which we now straightway hasten.

CHAPTER II.

§ I. INCANTATION which is called by the Greeks *Epôdê*, and by the Germans **die Beschwerung** or even sometimes **das Beschreyen**, we describe to be an act of Magic, wherein either by words alone, or also by the introduction of certain things and ceremonies they labour to produce some marvellous effect. From this we at once learn that in every Incantation, words whether few or many, are required to be uttered (*verba prophorica*), and hence in these pages we discard without further notice amulets with words inscribed on them, marks, ceremonies and other superstitious acts of this kind performed in silence, as is often the case.

§ II. THAT the origin of this superstitious and fraudulent art is ancient enough, is attested alike by sacred and by profane literature.

God himself more than once inculcates on the Jews that they must not by superstitious rites of that kind expose to the derision of the Gentiles his most holy name.* And if you would hear a profane writer, the author of a certain old work on Etymology says:—"The worship by Incantation is of ancient date." We do not wish to notice here the vaunts which writers† have made about Zoroaster, Orpheus, the two men called Osthanes (one of whom is said to have infected with this art King Xerxes himself) and many others, being quite content, if we can merely ascertain where Magic appears to have had its earliest cradle, and in what manner it has been propagated from nation to nation. Ham, the son of Noah, is said to have inscribed his arts on metallic plates and the hardest stones, so that they might be preserved from injury in the time of the deluge, being influenced perhaps by the fear that it would not be allowed him to take into the ark a book filled with these vanities.‡ But

* Deut. xviii. 10, 11, etc.

† Plin. bk. xxx., H. C. 1; Justin, *about the beginning of his Epit. Hist.*; Nicol. Perottus *in his Comment. on Martial*, p. 647; Peucerus *in Divinat.*, p. m. 146; Polyd. Virgil., *de Rer. Invent.*, bk. i, c. 22.

‡ M. Hilscher in his *Dissert. on the Study of Gentile Philosophy, adduces these from Peter Comestor and John Cassianus*, the Deacon.

though the superstition and impiety of Ham himself admit not of doubt, yet I have good ground for doubting whether those pillars be the same which Sethus is said to have erected to Joseph* and Zonaras. Mizraim, the son of this Ham, who fully inherited all his father's wickedness, afterwards imparted this art to others to such an extent that many swarms of Magicians made their appearance in Egypt and in Persia. From these, as if by a sort of contagion, the mischief began to creep onward towards the Hebrews, who were near neighbours to the Persians and Egyptians, as Bileam,† the witch of Endor, Manasseh the King of the Jews,‡ and perhaps a great many others testify by their example. Accordingly since many of the Greek philosophers undertook frequent journeys to the Jews and Egyptians, it came to pass that they returned home infected with the taint of this vice, and scattered the seed of the vain art among other nations. But, above all, when the glory of art and learning passed away from the Greeks to take up its abode within the walls of Rome, Magic also, like an ill-omened attendant upon them, with all its juggleries, followed simultaneously in their train, and, as it everywhere assumed the guise of some peculiar form of religion,

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* Book i., *Antiquit. Judaic.*, c. 4.

† *Num.* xxii. ‡ First Book of Kings, xxviii.

it was thereby the more easily enabled to win its way into people's hearts, where it struck its roots so deep, that even to this very day, you can, alas! detect various traces of it in those who have been instructed in the principles of a better religion.

§ III. BUT the rage for incantation claimed for that art so great a superiority over all the others that it must needs wish to rule universal nature, and to deal therewith according to its sovereign pleasure, since it forsooth actually aspired to subject to its will, not only living creatures, whether rational or irrational, but inanimate objects also, yea even the very properties of natural objects, so that you would not wonder if, as Lucan says:—* "The world, on hearing an incantation, would instantly be arrested in its course."

§ IV. OF Jupiter and the other gods of the Gentiles, whom they nevertheless professed to regard as the arbiters of human destinies, Plato asserts that they can be fast bound in the fetters of incantations, for he says: †

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* Book vi., Pharsal., 463
† Book ii. *of the Laws.**

* This passage (which occurs in the 2d Book of the Republic, and not of the Laws) is so incorrectly quoted, as to be unmeaning. The translation has therefore been made from the accepted text of the Republic.—TRANSL.

"They persuade their dupes that they possess a power, granted by the gods, of expiating by sacrifices and incantations, in the midst of pleasures and feastings, wrongs that have been committed, and that if any one wishes to hurt his enemy they can at small expense injure the just as well as the unjust by certain blandishments and magic ties, persuading the gods, as they say, to succour them." And, according to the testimony of Livy,* Tullus Hostilius, the King of the Romans, having been struck with lightning, was burned, together with his horse, because, when endeavouring to evoke Jupiter Elicius, according to the rules laid down in the Commentaries of Numa, he had not performed the sacred office properly. Pliny† notices that Tuccia, an unchaste Vestal Virgin, by a certain invocation, constrained the gods to give her the power of drawing water in a sieve. In connection with this are those prayers, by which the Romans, when besieging the cities of their enemies, sought to call forth the Tutelary gods of those cities, either because they believed that the place could not otherwise be taken, or because, if they could capture it, they thought it would be an act of impiety to take the gods prisoners. Macrobius

* Book i., c. 31.
† Book xxviii., H. N., c. 2.

quotes an invocation of this nature, conceived in these terms:* "O Power Divine, whether god or goddess! under whose guardianship are the Carthaginian people and State, and Thou before all, who hast received the guardianship of this city and people, I reverently pray and beseech of you that ye forsake the people and the State of Carthage, the localities, temples, solemnities, the city itself, and that ye may depart therefrom and inspire the city, the people, and the State, with fear and dread, and that being surrendered, ye may come to Rome to me and mine, and that our localities, temples, solemnities, and our city may find more acceptance and favour in your eyes. May ye moreover be pleased to take under your direction myself and the Roman people, that we may know and understand. If ye shall so do, then I vow to rear temples and celebrate games in your honour."

§ V. BUT just as the Ancients had two classes of gods, those of a superior and those of an inferior rank, so also the followers of Magic approached certain of their gods in the chants of their ritual, some with a show of reverence, but others with a good deal of freedom, yea they even sometimes added threats, if forsooth the

* Book iii., Saturnal, c. 9.

demons refused to comply with their requests. Kircher * instances from Porphyry an enchanter of this description, who in an access of anger against the demons for not being obsequious to his behests scattered against them from the phials of his wrath these blasting thunderbolts: "Unless you do as I desire I shall shatter the heavens, or disclose the mysteries of Isis, or divulge the secret known in the abyss, or disperse on the blasts of the hurricane the boat that carries the dead (held sacred in Egypt), or the limbs of Osiris." The reason of this ridiculous commination we can learn from Psellus: † "It is because many of the demons are wonderfully timid, and are so bewildered by their terror that they cannot discern who it is that utters the commination, even were it nobody but some sorry old hag." Seneca,‡ we may add, supplies us with an incantation of this description—that in which Medea inveighs against the infernal gods, and we may see one written in our own tongue § in the Tragedies of Dan. Casp. Lohenstein.‖

§ VI. IT is said in a well-worn proverb, "Man is a wolf to man." And sure enough experience daily teaches us that the remark is not

* Œdip. Ægypt, vol. ii., pt. ii., c. 5.
† *De operat. Daemon*, c. 21. ‡ *In Medea* v., 739.
§ German. ‖ *In the Tragedy, entitled Nero.*

altogether wide of the truth, since there be many mortals who oftentimes employ the faculties which God and the bounty of nature have given them in doing harm to others, and disturbing in various ways the primeval state of happiness, were it not that a higher power places barriers to the success of their nefarious schemes. We never, to be sure, read that the madness of sorcerers has gone so far as to make them wish to infuse reason into brutes and stones, and to change the same into veritable human beings; but, nevertheless, they have not hesitated to extinguish in men all the light of reason, and to transform them with the help of their incantations into beasts. Those things make one's hair stand on end, and are manifestly quite beyond the pale of belief, which Circe the Enchantress, so renowned in the fables of the poets, is said to have perpetrated in bygone days, for, as Virgil * tells us, "by her incantations she transformed the companions of Ulysses" —that is to say, she changed all that was previously human in them into the sottish shape of swine. Nay, more, Ovid expressly asserts † that the companions of Ulysses were not the only persons who had undergone this dreadful meta-

* *Eclog.* viii., v. 70. Compare Homer Odyssey.

† *Metam.* Book xiv., *Fab.* 6, v. 255.

morphosis, and we further learn from Virgil * in the passage where he represents Æneas coasting along the shores of Circe's realm, "that thence were heard the growls of lions in their wrath, refusing their chains, and roaming in the dead of night, bristly boars, and bears raging in their dens, and shapes of huge wolves fiercely howling —creatures which the fell goddess Circe had transformed by her magic drugs from the human mien to a beast's visage and a beast's hide." Nor does there remain any doubt but that the famous Medea of Colchis, who, it is alleged, was the sister of Circe, and boiled Æson, the father of Jason, together with the nurses of Bacchus, and thus restored him to pristine youth, vaunted her skill in the same arts. See Ovid,† Natalis Comes,‡ and others. Of Lycanthropy, by which witches were wont to change themselves, not only into wolves, but also into cows, cats, hares, it is not my purpose here to speak, because the origin of this is properly attributed partly to disease, and partly to imagination, although we deny not that a demon sometimes, by the agency of incantations, of characters, and of unquents has pretended to have effected this kind of transformation. Com-

* Æneid, Book vii., v. 15, and Ovid, in the passage referred to. † Book vii. *Met.*, v. 200.
‡ Book vi. *Myth.*, c. 7.

pare Vossius' "On the Idolatry of the Gentiles," * Remigius,† Frommanus "On Fascination;" ‡ and also B. Thomasius in his "Dissertation concerning the transformation of men into brutes."

VII. BUT it was not merely the whole man that was subject to be affected by incantations, but also any essential part of his person apart by itself. For, firstly, the magicians wished to call forth the soul out of the body. In Virgil,§ for example, Dido recounts in a long series the arts of a certain Massylian priestess, who, among other things, undertook by her spells to release souls at her pleasure; and in Lucan,‖ the soul, though uncorrupted by the taint of a poisoned draught, perishes if charmed out of the body by spells. For thus in hellish rites there was set up by the witches, in the likeness of the poor wretch whom they devoted to death, a waxen image of him, or even thin plates fashioned into his likeness, which were called ipsullices, or rather ipsiplices, or even auriplices (leaves of gold wreathed together in human shape), as Taubmann

* Book iii., p. 542.

† Book ii., c. 5.

‡ Book iii., c. 3; also Book iii., c. 23.

§ Æn. Book iv., v. 487.

‖ Pharsalia, Book vi., v. 457.

notes in his annotations on Virgil.* Hence t was that, when remains of this sort were found in the house of Germanicus, a suspicion was created in the minds of the people that he had been cut off by incantations. "A remarkable discovery," says Tacitus,† "was made. Under the floor and in niches in the walls a collection was found of human remains, with charms and imprecatory verses. The name of Germanicus was engraved on plates of lead; human bodies, not quite reduced to ashes, were found in a putrid condition; and other malignant spells, whereby, according to popular belief, the souls of the living are devoted to the infernal gods." In the second place, a witch in Horace‡ makes the boast that, though souls may have been released from the close embrace of the body, her words have the power to make them re-enter the body they have left. "I can," she says, "wake the dead from their ashes." Lucan, too, supplies the instance of Erichtho, a Thessalian witch, who, at the request of Cneius Pompey, recalled to life a soldier who had just been slain, that he might learn from him the issue of the battle of Pharsalia.§ Tibullus,

* On *Æn.*, Book iv., 508. Compare, *regarding Ipsullices*, Festus, Book ix., *On the Old Signification of Words.*

† *Annals*, Book ii., c. 69.

‡ *Epod.* 18.

§ Pharsal, Book vi.

also,* undoubtedly refers to this presumptuous folly of the sorceress when he thus depicts the arts of a certain witch:—"She by her magic strains cleaves the ground, and entices the dead from their tombs and recalls the ashes to life from the yet warm funeral pile." Thirdly, with a great array of sacrifices, accompanied almost invariably with spells and incantations, they hoped that the manes, for so they designated the spirits which remain alive after death, could be brought back from the nether world—a thing they were persuaded could easily be done, since they believed that the spiirts of the dead, owing to their affection for their bodies, continued to wander for some time round about their tombs.† To say nothing of six hundred others, Homer ‡ hath excellently well, and, as it were, to the life, represented the nature of these ceremonies, where he exhibits Ulysses as summoning the shades of the dead from their nether abodes. Apion the grammarian, whom, on account of his love of display, Tiberius called the Cymbal of the world, avowed that he had evoked the shades of the dead in order to question Homer in what country and

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* Book i., *eleg.* 2.

† Lactant. Book ii., c. 2.

‡ *Odyss.* xi., v. 24; Virg., *Ecl.* viii., v. 95; Horat. *Sat.*, Book i., 8, v. 23.

of what parents he was born.* And of Nero, Suetonius† affirms that, by offering a propitiatory sacrifice performed by the Magi, he sought to summon the departed spirit of Agrippina and supplicate her pardon. Lastly, they thought that by magic words various affections could not only be imparted to the mind, but could again be eradicated from it. In Lucan's verse‡ we read:—"By the spells of Thessalian witches there flowed into the obdurate heart a love that entered not there in the course of nature." Above all, those idylls of Virgil and Theocritus called *Pharmaceutria* deserve to be read. In these, love-sick maidens endeavour by philters and incantations to excite a love for them in the breast of a man by whom they are spurned. Dido seeks a remedy for her love in spells, for she, we are told, combining with herbs the love-charm called Hippomanes, desired to liberate thereby her heart from the love of Æneas.§ In Tacitus‖ Numantina, the wife of Plautius Sylvanus, is accused of having distempered her husband's brain by drugs and magic spells.

* Plin., *Hist. N.*, Book xxx., c. 2.
† *In the Life of Nero*, c. 34.
‡ *Pharsal*, Book vi., v. 452.
§ Virgil, Æn., Book iv., 47.[1]
‖ *Annal*, Book iv., c. 22.

[1] Author's reference.—Should be verse 514.

§ VIII. THAT domicile moreover, the body of man, which the supremely wise Architect of the Universe has most skilfully framed and appointed to be the habitation of the human mind, I do think he has given us to know is in some manner exposed to the power of Incantations, (§ 6.) But the Magicians did not hesitate to affect it in various ways, and to corrupt it with diseases, and when corrupted to restore it again to health by the power of their spells. This, at all events, leads us quite freely to acknowledge that the ancients were not actuated by this madness to such an extent as the men of our own day, since they preferred to take good care of the human body rather than to work it harm. In the intermediate period, however, we find traces of this abominable superstition, even in Propertius,* where the Poet conjures the Magi that they would charge the mind of his mistress with Cytæan† spells, and make her countenance become more wan. But in particular they believed that the organs of generation in man could be abused and debilitated by twining knots on the fringe of some kind of garment, while simultaneously muttering certain words, a rite to which Maro makes reference.‡ "Twine in three knots, Amaryllis" in

* Eleg., Book i., 1.
† *From Cite, a Colchian town.*
‡ Ecl. viii.

three colours, twine them, Amaryllis, do, and say, Detestable ceremonies of this sort are said to be too frequently practised even at the present day by the application of pressure to a lock immersed in water. A copious harvest of examples in persons of either sex is supplied by D. Joh. Gerg. Simon, in his work, de Impotent. Conjugal.,* Bodinus,† and perhaps a good many more. We have it on the testimony of Erasmus Francisici,‡ that the Persians and Turks by the mere raising or lowering of the finger can lay those that are betrothed under spells, in consequence of which all are enjoined to assist the espoused by unclasping their fingers. A more common purpose for which magic spells are used, is to alleviate and expel diseases of the human body. For if no doctors have power to resist the malady, Dardanian arts, (*i.e.*, witchcraft) come into play,§ and doctors have the unblushing effrontery to accuse nature herself of the feebleness of her power. So, according to what Pliny tells us,‖ Theophrastus sought for a cure to his sciatica, Cato for a cure to his dislocated

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* C. vi., Thesis 4, n. 2.

† Daemon., Book ii., c. 1.

‡ In der lustigen Schau-buhne (Comic Theatre) *Conc.* iii. p. 534.

§ Columella x., 317.—*Transl.*

‖ H. N., Book xxviii., c. 2.

limbs, and Varro a cure to the pangs of his gout in the use of Magic spells. Homer, himself, the father of poets, states* that Ulysses when wounded in the thigh, had staunched the flow of blood by a magic spell. "The wound of Ulysses the blameless, the godlike, they bound up skilfully, and by incantation staunched the dark blood." And Nicolaus Perottus, expressing a popular belief, relates† that a man was instantaneously cured of ringworm with the help of a stone to which, near a stream of water, dry moss clings, and of a spell the words of which are:—"Fly, Cantharides, a fierce wolf is pursuing you." Time and the abundance of instances forbid us to insert any more of them in our pages, for who would be at the pains to recount all the silly stories told by old women while spining wool at the fireside. The reader will find various formulas of old wives, blessings of the above sort in a little work entitled, **Die gestriegelte Rocken-Philosophie.** Compare Frommannus *on Fascination*,‡ also Thomas Bartholinus *on Medical Poets*.§

§ IX. THAT many of the more ignoble creatures, which are not quite destitute of reason, have laid aside the innate bent of their

* *Odyss.* xix.
† In Comment. ad Martial. p. 520.
‡ Book i., pt. ii., sect. 3, c. 5. § P. 19.

nature when fascinated with the sound of magic words, the wife of Picus, the King of Latium, shows,* for she was wont by her voice to soften the fury of the savage beasts and to arrest the flight of the vagrants of the air. Schottus,† on the authority of Villamontius, alleges that crocodiles are constrained by the singing of the Egyptian fishermen to leave the Nile and allow themselves to be led off and exposed for sale in the markets. Debrio ‡ tells a like story of a bull that had been fascinated with song in a similar way. But the most remarkable instance in point is the serpent brood in all its manifold varieties which is reduced by the power of music to such an extreme stupefaction that it has no aversion to divest itself of all the ferocity of its nature, and to cast away the deadly virulence of its poison. In reading a certain passage in Seneca,§ you can fancy yourself actually beholding the obsequious deference which serpents exhibit towards those who enchant them, for there:—"attracted by the magic strains, the scaly throng comes into our midst from their solitary hiding places. The

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*Ovid, *Met.*, Book xiv., v. 332.
†P. ii., *Mag. Univers.*, Book iv., c. 2.
‡ Book ii., p. 136.
§ *In Medea*, Act iv., v. 684. Compare Virgil. Ecl. viii., v. 71.

fierce brute here in amazement drags along its monstrous coils, brandishes its three forked tongue, and while seeking a victim to pounce on, and strike death, becomes fascinated on hearing the sound of song." The Marsi, moreover, a people of Italy, who according to A. Gellius* derived their origin from Circe herself, are said to have at one time excelled in the art of taming serpents, so that they got no harm at all from the otherwise deadly bite of vipers, and if we can credit Pliny,† the same practice was found to be in vogue with the Psylli, a people of Africa. Paracelsus, that notable patron of words and characters‡ may keep the belief all to himself, that in Helvetia and Snabia serpents could be so charmed by the three words, *Osii*, *Osia*, *Osii* that they were instantaneously rendered gentle and harmless.

§ X. TO disturb the laws of the elements, which are generally thought to form a quaternion, and to reduce these laws again from confusion to order, is a thing of nought in the opinion of the adepts of Incantation. They enter the realms of air, and by their spells§ they scatter

* *Noct. Attic.*, Book xvi., c. 2.
† H. N., Book vii., c. 2.
‡ *Archid. Mag.*, Book i. p. 69.
§ Ovid, *Met.*, Book xiv., 344.

the clouds, they gather the clouds, they still the storm. If I may use the language of Seneca,* "On their arrival, midnight sees the sun, and under their spells nothing adheres to its laws." They produce, contrary to the very order of nature, phenomena which, had they resulted from the power of Incantation, would not come under the designation of an ordinary miracle. Medea,† for instance, evokes water from rainless clouds, and the witch in Tibullus‡ at her pleasure produces snows in the season of summer. The bright denizens themselves of the higher spheres, the stars, I mean, that are so wondrously beautiful, were believed at the magician's word of command to shoot wildly from their sphere and pursue their way in a strange orbit. In Seneca, whom we have already cited, you may read§ that not only the rainy Hyades succumbed to the spells of Medea, but that the Sun-God himself stood still in the midst of his day's journey under the same influence. We may next adduce Ovid, who says:—‖"Charms draw down the horns of the

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* In the Medea, v. 776.
† In the passage quoted.
‡ *Eleg.*, Book i., 1.
§ In the passage quoted.
‖ *Amor.*, Book ii., El. 1. Compare Horat., *Epod.* 18; Senec. in Hyppol., Act ii.

blood-red moon, and call back the snow-white horses of the sun while pacing onward." Here it is to be observed that, in the opinion of simple-minded persons, the moon could by incantations be actually drawn down from heaven, and when drawn down could be compelled to discharge upon herbs the froth of her influences, by reason whereof authors allege that the women of Thessaly acquired a great proficiency in this art. So Aristophanes says:—*"If I should purchase a Thessalian witch and draw down the moon by night;" and Claudian,† "I know by what spell the Thessalian sorceress snatches away the lunar beam." As often, therefore, as the moon lost her effulgence, people thought this was done by the foul arts of the Magi, and so they filled the spacious firmament with the dissonant bray of brass trumpets to prevent the moon hearing the incantations, so that she might thus retain the glory of her radiant beams.‡ This widespread but foolish belief waned away when, as Laërtes§ tells us, the real causes of the eclipse of the moon had been discovered by Anagoras.

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* In the Clouds.

† *In Ruffin*, Book i., 145.

‡ Plin., H. N., Book i., c. 2.; Livy, Book xxvi. c. 5.

§ *In his Life.*

§ XI. THAT the rapidity of fire is controlled by command of the voice, and that Vulcan, who is at other times less placable, is deprived of his energy by words, the superstition of antiquity and of more modern times affirms with the most positive certainty. Even the walls of houses, saith Pliny,* have prayers written on them to protect them from fire. And many of our countrymen, soldiers especially, either fire a gun or throw a piece of bread into buildings which fire is destroying, and at the same time pronounce certain words, by doing which they affirm that the violence of the flames can be so checked and broken that they cannot advance a nail's breadth farther. Those rascals, also, who lead a vagabond life, like the roving Tartars, and pester the inhabitants of almost every country under the sun with their absurd juggling tricks, and who are commonly called Zingari (gypsies), boast that this art is peculiarly theirs, since they are able, they say, to let fire loose even in a barn stuffed full of corn, hay, and straw, without risk of any damage being done, provided only they set their own limits to the flames by certain adjurations.

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* H. N., Book xxviii., c. 2.

§ XII. WATER, if we choose to believe the Magicians, on hearing a spell pronounced, is so stunned that it stands still, as if ice-bound, and is unable to continue its course any further. They were, to wit, in the habit of ordering waters in the rivers to stand still,* and they detained the long streams by the words which they uttered, † the laws of nature being so far reversed that, as you may learn from Tibullus,‡ the waters began to go backwards. This same poet does not hesitate to affirm of a certain witch that by her spells she changed the course of a rapid river. If further you choose to hear Ovid,§ he tells you that the threats of Magicians extend even so far that they make the water flow backward till it remounts to the spring from which it gushed, as if from the fear of a greater danger.

§ XIII. THAT the earth, which, on account of its weight, is otherwise less capable of motion, moves spontaneously at the command of the Magicians, and is cloven into

* Virgil, *Æn.*, Book iv., v. 486.
† Ovid, Met. xiv.
‡ *El.* Book i., 2 and 8.
§ *Amor.* Book ii., *El.* 1.

diverse parts, appears from Tibullus.* Nay, more, as Maro says: † "You will see the earth bellowing under your feet, and the ashes coming down from the mountain-tops." Those things, moreover, which the earth, like a teeming mother produces yearly, can be dragged about and tainted, as the poets everywhere testify, by the malign words of the Magicians, just as it suits their pleasure. Virgil confesses ‡ that "he saw them with his own eyes removing the standing crops from one field to another." Read also the prohibition in the Twelve Tables: "Entice not away the crop from another man's field."§ The wording of another law shows that the violators of this law were subject to a penalty: "Let him be punished who by enchantment removes grain, and him who uses enchantment for an evil purpose." Ovid,‖ in a few words, thus notices comprehensively the tainting of various vegetable produce tions: "Corn blasted by magic fades into a sterile plant, blasted by magic the springs of water fail. The acorns of the oak, the grapes of the vine, when bewitched by magic, wither and fall,

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* *In the passage already quoted.*
† *Æn.* iv., v. 490.
‡ *Ecl.* viii., v. 99.
§ See Rosin. Antiquit. Book viii., c. 6.
‖ Amor. Book iii., *Ecl.* 7.

and the apples drop from the tree without touch of hand."

§ XIV. WE have seen hitherto, aud have been told that the superstitious folly of the Ancients ought in great measure to be referred to what is read in authors about Thessalian voices, Thyestæan imprecations, Dardanian arts, and Ephesian letters, of which even the last named consisted of nothing else than inaantations, wherewith, by uttering a barbarous cnd portentous jargon, they were wont either to purify places of evil repute,* or to drive away diseases, or to adjure the demons. They were called Ephesian, because when invented by the Idæan Dactyli, they were engraved on an image of Diana of Ephesus. Hesychius states that they were the following:† Aski, kataski, haix, tetraz, damnameneus, aision. It was thought that if any one recited these words he would beyond all doubt prove victorious in every contest. But it is to be wished that juggleries of that sort, along with other superstitious rites of the heathen nations, should be thoroughly extirpated, or at least should only find a footing when the light of a more saving doctrine has been altogether

* Loca infesta—Scottice—*uncanny places.*
† *In Lexic.*

extinguished and extruded. For we do not much admire the Turks, whose method of recovering fugitive slaves is thus described by Robertus: * The name of the slave written on a scroll is suspended in his place of shelter, then they assail his head with direful curses and imprecations. Then, by the agency of the demons, such an effect is wrought on the fugitive that he thinks either lions or dragons will attack him on his way, or that the sea or the rivers will drown him, or that everything will be shrouded in the blackest darkness, and so he returns to his master scared back by these bug-bears. These Turks, I say, we do not admire much, for who is there who knows not that their minds are dreadfully benighted by the densest shades of ignorance. But, at the same time, that those who ought to be imbued with better principles suffer themselves to be branded with this mark is no trifling proof of human perversity. For since women by an instinct which is not very laudable are inclined to volubility of speech, and the women of the lower classes especially are quite incapable of bridling their tongue, they attribute, in consequence to their preposterous eloquence such a moving power, that they feel persuaded in their own minds that they thereby produce effects dreadful

* In Goclen. *Heautont.*, Sect. xvii., § 10.

to be told and wonderful to be seen. And hence, I almost think Xenarchus in Athenæus * was not so hard upon the inferior sex, when he declares the grasshoppers to have a blessed lot, seeing that their females are voiceless. But if women should perhaps be pardoned in consideration of their natural weakness, though I would not rashly venture to say they should, still I do not see how Papists can escape the charge of this impiety and superstition since they follow themselves the footsteps of Paganism by the consecration of oil, of salt, of candles, of water, of roses, &c., and in this way expose either their own supreme ignorance or supine negligence to the eyes of sensible people.

CHAPTER III.

§ I. SENECA,† not without good reason, derides that antiquity, and calls it ignorant, which believed that rains were both attracted and repelled by magic, for, as he says, it is so evident that nothing of the sort can be done, that we have no need to enter the school of any

* Deipnos. Book xiii.
† *Nat quæst.* Book iv., c. 1.

philosopher to learn that fact. Pliny himself,* who at other times is somewhat too often in the habit of selling smoke (*i.e.*, of imposing on the credulity of his readers) before Juno pronounces this art to be the most fraudulent of all arts, and expresses his surprise how it could flourish all over the world for so many ages. We also ourselves, that we may not appear to have rashly and unadvisedly accused sorcerers of fraud and malice, will now inquire into the qualities of spells of this kind, when, after divesting them of the words in which they are enveloped, we shall see the snake lurking in the grass.

§ II. WE affirm, therefore, that if the words be looked at in themselves, there is clearly neither virtue nor power inherent in them, whether you have regard either to their material or their formal elements. Sacred Scripture alone rejoices above all in this glorious prerogative, that by its vivid power it can melt hearts harder than Parian marble. As for other words, they are but sounds formed in air and fading away again in air; how, then, can an object that is frequently many miles distant from the sorcerer by possibility feel that any force has been conveyed into it? And even granting that

* H. N. Book xxx., c. 1.

he has such a stentorian voice that any one would shudder on hearing it, an effect of that nature ought not to be attributed to the words, but to the air driven with great force and suddenness to vibrate on the ear. As regards the formal element in words, that also is destitute of power, since it only proceeds from the human will when one man wishes to communicate the ideas in his mind to another man. Who, then, taught man that so great a power lay in this and in that word? It was not another man, for whence could he have derived this knowledge? He could not have derived it immediately from God, because God is Himself the severest punisher of these impostures; and not from good genii either, because they never oppose the will of the Supreme Deity. The only supposition remaining is, therefore, that the teacher is an imp of hell, who contrives that words shall not be invariably endowed with the same efficacy, for if there were a certain virtue inherent in the words themselves, then whoever pronounced these in any way, place, and time whatever, would gain his object. Nay, even the parrot or the magpie, if trained to utter words of the kind, could in a similar way perform any incantation you please, for if the cause of any natural phenomenon which is not under the control of a will be positive, the effect must necessarily be also positive. Therefore, wherever heretofore the virtues inherent in

words have been boasted, there, in the results, you will find either that there has been no effect at all, or at all events that the fallacy has been committed of assigning as the cause what was not the cause.

§ III. ADVERTING to the different kinds of spells, if we examine those by which the Gentiles strove to gain over to their side the gods and demons, even against their will, we shall find a display everywhere of great impiety and folly. That the Deity is certainly appeased by pious prayers we all know, but that He on whom man is in every way dependent is compelled by words to take of necessity our part, and give us what we pray for, is clearly absurd and presumptuous. But what danger can in consequence accrue to the demons if they are unwilling to comply with our desires? And although now you should spend your puny breath in pelting them with threats, you will profit but little thereby, since their nature is so constituted that they can neither be seen by the eyes nor touched by the hands, and are exempt from every form of suffering to which the body is liable. In all cases, therefore, where the demons have pretended that they were drawn down by the force of words, they have done so with a view to mock the

credulity of the impious, and to make them cling more pertinaciously to their superstitious beliefs.

§ IV. PLINY * already in his own age had no hesitation in exploding the idea that human beings could be transformed into beasts. "We ought," he says, "to have no hesitation in deeming it false that men were changed into wolves and were again restored to their natural shape, or in disbelieving all the fables which we have found current for so many ages." We require not an interpreter of oracles to explain to us the meaning of the transformation of the companions of Ulysses, for who is so blear-eyed as not to see that these men, while staying in the delightful plains of Campania, had indulged in licentious passions and the allurements of pleasure so very immoderately that they became not unlike brute beasts, that seek only to glut the sensual appetite. For since we must deny even to the Devil himself, and that absolutely, the power of changing men into brutes, what, pray, can his agents do by means of their voices? To these also, even when displaying their madness in bands, the connection between the body and the soul remains unshaken, because that connection hath been so firmly established by the will of God that

* H. N., Book xxii., c. 8

neither of the two can depart from its post without permission. When, however, the connection between them has been once severed, it can by no manner of means be again reconstituted, even by all the finite powers combined.

§ V. IT is not altogether baselessly asserted that by the aid of incantations, various emotions can be frequently produced in the minds of men, for the fancy is so ensnared by the harmonies of music, that it is agitated according as the notes vary with a succession of the most fervid emotions. But incantations gain no credit by this, since they are for the most part so composed that you can hear nothing in them that is either artistic or pleasing, but merely a monstrously uncouth jargon of outlandish words; and therefore if the emotion either of hate or of love is awakened in the minds of the hearers by spells of this nature, this result is unquestionably to be ascribed to the wiles of the devil, who through the medium of the air, forms in our brain objects alike that are pleasing, and the reverse of pleasing, by the perception of which the mind is either most violently agitated or greatly soothed into repose.

§ VI. DISEASES in the human body are due to natural causes, and not to any power in magic words. What sorcerers in their

ignorance and malice ascribe to words is to be attributed rather to herbs and other things. And though even the devil sometimes deludes men with this pretence, he is nevertheless unable to do violence to nature, but only abuses most foully the natural media. Thus, for example, when he moves the air in the body too quickly or too slowly, the circulation of the blood is by this very means disturbed, and the man necessarily falls into ill health which the devil is able thereafter again easily to allay if the air being no longer interfered with, has been allowed to move in its ordinary course. But whatever is alleged by authors touching the cure of wounds by incantations, we think to be no less foolishly absurd than what Orpheus and Archelaus write, that arrows drawn out of a wounded body, if they have not touched the ground, are the best means of procuring love when they are laid under people in bed, for who would not with the greatest care guard a store of such precious arrows if the truth of this assertion were once ascertained?

§ VII. BRUTE beasts do not understand the words recited by a sorcerer, and are not therefore by virtue of them made subservient to his will. Pliny* accounts for the fact

* H. N., Book xxviii., c. 3.

in so firm and stable an order that all your endeavours to disturb them by any arts would prove utterly futile. The Sun, who leads the shining choir of heaven, has from the time the world was first cradled, onward to the present day, run his course through the spacious sky, and with serene face has smiled contempt at the threats of the that the Psylli and Marsi were a terror to serpents by attributing to these people a natural and inborn capacity. But, it may be said, the Agyrtæ play with serpents unharmed, swallow them, and then vomit them alive. In this case we are altogether of opinion that a great deal can be achieved by arts in themselves innocent, and by an extraordinary dexterity of which those impostors who bedeck themselves with chains have in frequent instances acquired a great mastery. But in cases where the power of art no less than of nature appears to have been conceded, we have no hesitation in thinking that the agent here is the same that in the guise of a serpent deceived our first parents.

§ VIII. THAT we may finally sum up in a word or two all that has been stated above concerning the various phenomena in this universe, we now assert that no one but the God of Nature is able to change the laws of nature, seeing that all things have been disposed

Magi. The moon by turns contracts her brightness and soon again replenishes her horns, and feels no alarm at the incantations of the witches. As regards storms, the power of evoking them has been left neither to man nor the Devil. The latter, indeed, in virtue of the experience he has acquired in a long course of years, is able at times to accommodate himself to the conditions which determine the weather, and by the abuse of natural causes to produce results of which witches afterwards take all the credit to themselves, as if they had wrought them by their curses. For if at a change of weather he collects the watery particles then in the air, the rains burst down in bucketfuls, and if he moves very rapidly the nitrous and sulphurous particles, then thunder and lightning follow, which too often ruin the crops and fruits of those whom he hates for their love of piety. The procedure is the same in the repression of the energy of fire and water, which the Devil, through the medium of the air, can both diminish and increase, for if there were such virtue in incantations alone they would certainly deserve to be taught publicly every day, since an incalculable amount of loss could be prevented that arises from the mischief done by floods and conflagrations.

§ IX. LAST of all, we further infer the futility of Incantations from the fact that they are very often so fabricated that they have evidently no meaning at all, and the Magicians are ignorant of their signification; and although it is acknowledged that a foreign tongue is the parent whence they have been derived, still they are so mutilated and corrupted that you can scarcely, if even at all, guess what import they bear. For instance, that well-known Abracadabra of O. Seranus Ammoniacus,* which, he says, is a cure for fever, is suspected to have been made up of the Hebrew words meaning 'a father,' 'the spirit,' and 'a word.' To this must also be added that much that has been advanced merely as a joke has been taken in earnest by the unwary. A case in point is the exorcism of Euricius Cordus,† by which he alleges the irritating bites of fleas and bugs can be prevented. "Lest fleas and bugs should plague you by night, use this exorcism, courteous reader:—

> Manstula, correbo, budigofma, tarantula, calpe,
> Thymmula, dinari, golba, caduna, trepon."

When going to bed chant these verses nine times

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* *His Book de Medic.*, c. 53.
† *Epigr.*, Book vii.

over, and at each repetition quaff three cups of good wine. "Who does not see that this is but the pleasantry of a humorist? Frommannus,* however, condemns the verses, and accuses them, with what right I know not, of the grossest superstition.

CHAPTER IV.

§ I. IT still remains that I should now briefly discuss those considerations which might be able perhaps to persuade others of the truth of the opinion that words have powers of their own of producing supernatural effects. The purpose we have in view however suggests to us that out of the great multitude of them we should select only those that are most cogent. We reject therefore at once the authority of the poets, of Agrippa, of Paracelsus, and of others, as we have good reason for suspecting their trustworthiness, and we bring to the test those arguments only which being adduced from sacred writ, and supported perhaps by probable reasoning from other quarters, seem to weaken our contention.

§ II. THE first instance to hand is that of the Egyptian Magicians, Jannes and Jambres, who in the sight of King Pharaoh and his

* *In his Book de Fascinat.*, Book iii., c. 5.

Princes,* by their incantations, as the versions have it,† are said to have changed their rods into serpents. We do not wish here to countenance with our support those who allege that the rods were not changed into real serpents, but that the Devil, by tampering in some way with the crystalline humour of the eyes of the spectators, had obscured their vision so that they mistook the rods for serpents. But if this opinion were admitted, who does not see that it would cast a great slur on the miracle of Moses, since it would follow that the serpent of Moses did not swallow real serpents, though this is what it would have appeared to the spectators to do. Another, and, methinks, in truth an easier road, lies open to us by walking wherein we neither wrong Moses nor attribute any power to words. The Devil, according to this view, was able, by reason of the extreme rapidity of his movements, in a moment to withdraw from the scene the rods of the Magicians, or even to hide them until he could substitute in place of them real live serpents, these being animals with which Egypt, a country infected with superstitious

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* *Exod.* viii., 11.

† Although the Septuagint translates this *by their drugs*, yet the French version seems to approach more nearly the true scope—*par leurs enchantements*; and also the English version—*with their enchantments.*

idolatry, abounded. The serpents thus substituted were then afterwards swallowed up by the rod of Aaron.

§ III. AFTER these comes Balaam,* an adept in magic arts, who wished to subject the army of the Israelites to his enchantments, and by magic words to cheat Moses of his victory. But, in the first place, it is certain that all these incantations, even when they were brought forward, failed of their effect. In the second place, nobody questions but that Satan beforehand had had dealings with this man. As regards, again, the statement that the sun and moon at the command of Joshua stood still for a whole day,† even Joshua himself would not ascribe what took place to the power of the words which he used. For God, in accordance with the infinitude of his power, so directed everything that the Jews must have clearly recognised His presence; and that they might be more eager to crush their enemies, and might have a more assured hope of victory, he was pleased to suspend for a short space the laws of nature which he had ordained.

§ VI. IF, further, the law of jealousy be advanced according to which, if any man among the Jews suspected his wife of adultery

* *Num.* xxii. † Jos. x.

he brought her to the door of the tabernacle, and thereupon the priest not only uttered dreadfu adjurations, accompanied with certain ceremonies, but wrote these adjurations also in a book and blotted them out afterwards with bitter water, and then gave these very waters to the woman to drink, whereby he ascertained her innocence or guilt according as the draught proved to be bene ficial or baleful. If then, say I, this be held to prove on behalf of those who take words under their patronage the efficacy of their words, we answer—Neither the words of adjuration, then written by the hand, then orally recited, and then plunged into water, had any power in themselves of doing harm, but whatever potency they had was conferred on them by God, the searcher of hearts, who to a natural substance added something supernatural, and for the sake of manifesting the truth willed that weight should attach to the words.

§ V. THAT souls after death are compelled by the power of words to present themselves to the living the Witch of Endor seems to avouch, since she, at the solicitation of King Saul, called Samuel from the dead to declare to him the issue of the Philistine war.* Yet, sooth to say,

* 1 Sam. xxviii.

Incantations gain little for themselves by this example. For though we should grant that something did appear to the woman, yet it was not long since proved that it was not the soul of Samuel, already enrolled among the denizens of heaven, but rather that it was a demon who had concealed himself under this mask. And further, the opinion does not seem to be plainly repugnant to truth, which represents the whole matter to have been a mere illusion—for the name applied to that wretched woman or ventriloquist, as she is called in the Septuagint, points not obscurely to this conclusion. For Saul himself neither saw nor heard anything, but merely believed what the woman told him had been said by the spectre. But that she could depict Samuel to the life is not wonderful, since he had lived so many years among his countrymen, and could not therefore but be well known to them. And finally, the effect of the prediction leads over and above to the same conviction, for effect there was none, since the word used either precisely means to-morrow, or indefinitely any future time. If the former meaning is to hold, it will easily be shown from the text itself, by a reference to sacred geography, that Saul was still alive for some days after; if the latter meaning, it is the greatest of absurdities to predict to mortals that they shall die some time or other.

§ VI. THEY may urge, perhaps, in support of the efficacy of words, the expressive words of David, where* he says that serpents stop their ear against the voice of the enchanter. But Vossius† rightly explains these words when he says that David's meaning was this—"That so great was the rage of his enemies that it could not be appeased any more than an asp is moved by the spell of the enchanter." If, finally, any of our opponents object that we ourselves attach a potency to words, when in the sacred rite of baptism we command the Devil to take himself off and fly the presence of infants, to this let B. Scherzerus answer in place of me.‡ "We neither understand that the Devil is bodily present besetting the infants, nor that he is bodily cast out, as the Calvintsts calumniously pretend we do. In our eyes the casting out is symbolic, not actual, and we retain the practice merely as a token of Christian liberty.

§ VII. TO those who appeal to music, by which not only men but even brute creatures and stones were moved while listening to the strains of Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, we will

* *Psalm* lviii., 5 6.
† *Idol. Gent.*, Book i., c. 8.
‡ *In Systemat. Defin. Theol.*, p. 372.

grant all they require, provided only that, along with us, they understand these fables in a moral sense, and show that the purpose of Incantation is the same as that of music. For it is not music simply by itself that has led mankind onward in the path of refinement, but it is the stimulus which it gives to the imaginative faculty that produces all the wonderful effect. To this must be added, that a musical tone is sweet and pleasant, while that of Incantations is for the most part rude and barbarous; and further, the same music does not produce the same effects, but admits of variety! The principle is the same in Incantations, and yet the effect varies.

§ VIII. THEY say that oratory is like enchantments, because by means of it we can so soothe the minds of our hearers that they yield their assent. But we repeat again and again that those words have no force of themselves, but it is the weight of the arguments contained in the words, and the elegance of the discourse, composed with consummate art and spoken with sweet modulations of the voice, that with mysterious power attract the mind of the hearer, and take such hold of his imagination that his attention is riveted to the words and his reason engaged to reflect upon them. Nor does the orator, even though, with the eloquent lips of a Pericles, he

should utter strains of highflown rhetoric, attain his end if the hearer be thinking of other things or be under the influence of prejudices.

§ IX. LASTLY, that formula "God bless you," with which we address those that are sneezing, possesses no power whatever. That this was a very ancient custom appears from the *Problemata* of Aristotle and from Petronius, and since there is nothing wrong in it, it is very properly retained by our countrymen, as a token by which we show to another our sincere desire of wishing him well. And thus we bring this our dissertation to its close; and seeing the end, we give God thanks.*

* Readers who take an interest in the "Black Art," should read Mr. Nicholson's edition of Scott's "Discoveries of Witchcraft."—E. G.

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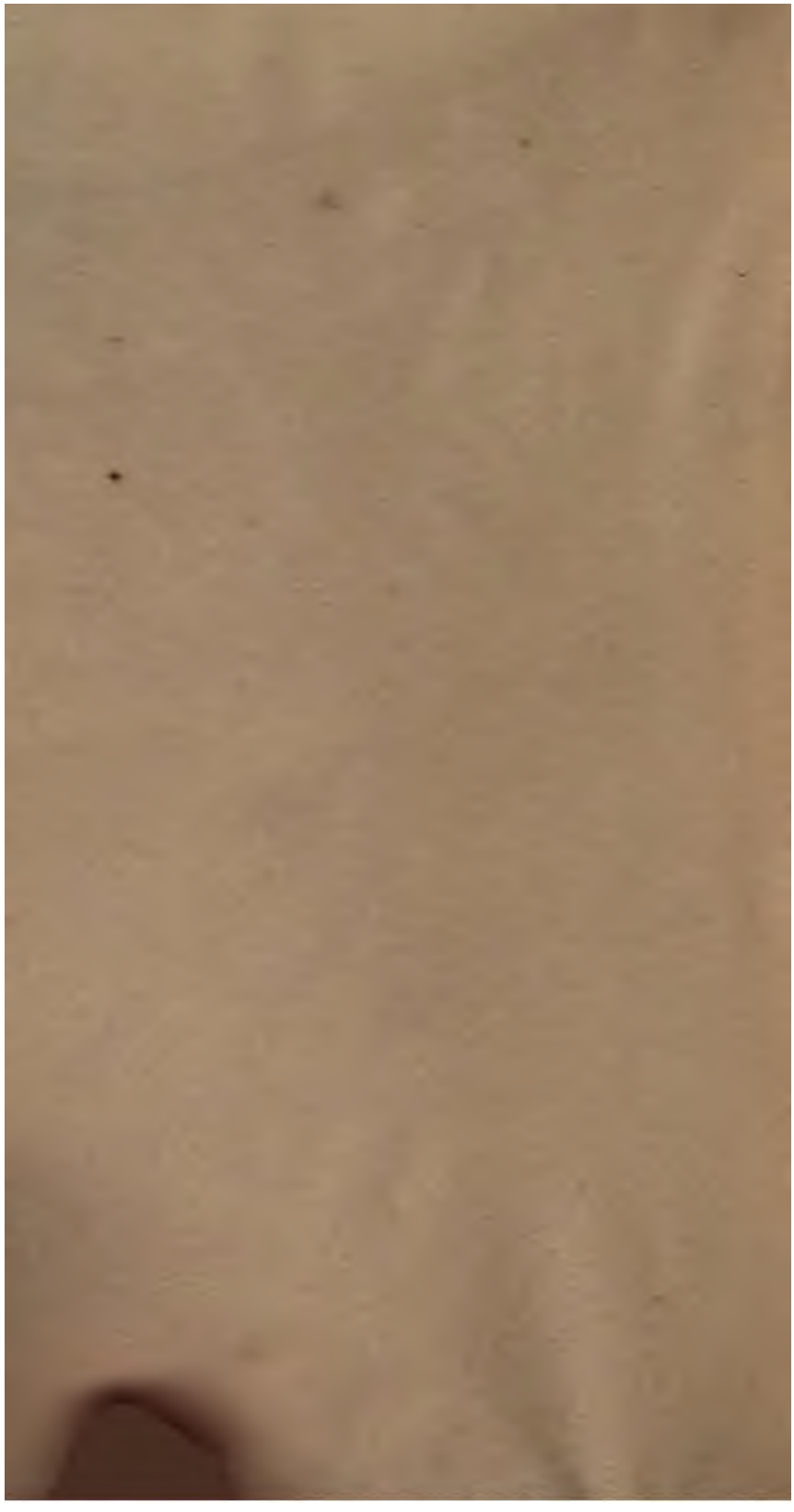

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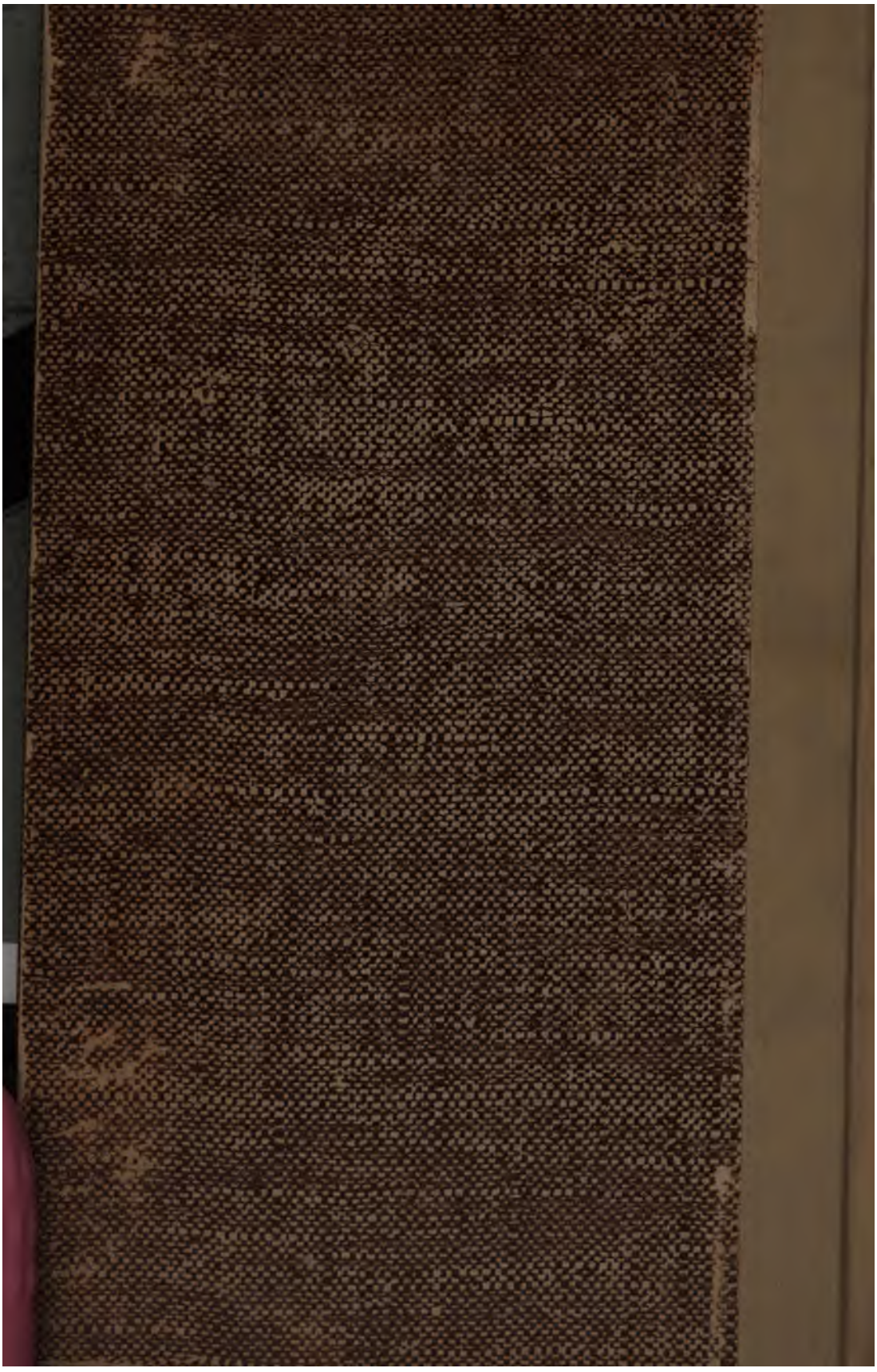
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